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kul·on). Abortions are rarely sought, however, even among unmarried women, and are ordinarily performed only in conjunction with an act of witchcraft known as *koftun*, the aim of which is to render a worthless lover impotent or sterile.

I was told of no current pregnancy tabus, but Cooper stated: "It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut";[5] and Guevara said that pregnant women were not allowed to visit the sick, watch hockey games or races, or partake of certain foods lest they bear twins.[6] All sources agree that intercourse is not forbidden during the period of gestation.

If a mother of small youngsters finds herself with child, she is likely to prepare them for the coming event by saying that a bird appeared to her in a dream and promised to send the family a new baby for a playmate. She then asks the children to be good to the infant when it arrives. Conventionally, Araucanian children are supposed to be ignorant of the circumstances pertaining to childbirth, and they are not permitted to be present when a birth takes place.

PARTURITION

Unlike the custom of earlier days,[7] a contemporary mother is expected to bear her children within her own *ruka*, and some of the more sophisticated women even go to maternity hospitals in the cities. The process of childbearing is called *choyüin*. On the reservations when the time for delivery draws near, a section of the house is set apart, and no one may come there except those who are assigned to help the patient. Young children are particularly forbidden to approach or touch their mothers, and it is the common practice for all housemates who are not assisting with the case to absent themselves as soon as labor begins.

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 732.

[6] Guevara, 1911, p. 285.

[7] There is a sharp contrast between the childbirth customs reported by informants in 1948 and the harsh picture drawn in Latcham, 1909, pp. 359–60.

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ADOLESCENCE

Latcham made repeated references to totemic or tribal initiations, but he gave no details, and it is hard to tell whether he was dealing with a custom that once prevailed or with a hypothesis.[23] Certainly, no practice currently exists that in any way resembles a formal recognition of adulthood. The transition from boyhood to manhood is completely unmarked and gradual and is accomplished as a boy assumes more and more adult tasks and begins to engage in sexual relations.

In the past an adolescent boy was given a pair of severe tests to show his all-round development. At the age of eleven or twelve he was mounted on horseback and sent alone for a visit of several days at the house of a friendly chief. The latter spent much time with him, conversed with and questioned him on a variety of topics, and took mental note of his deportment and replies. Soon after the lad's return home, the chief secretly gave his father a full and critical evaluation of the boy's behavior. About five years later, a youth was expected to give a public demonstration of his oratorical ability and the power of his memory.[24]

Girls, too, are said formerly to have been subjected to an initiation on reaching puberty, and there is a likelihood that the custom persists in areas near the Cordilleras,[25] but in the region in which I worked no mention of such a trait was made. The beginning of a girl's menstrual cycle receives no public mention. On the contrary, unmarried women keep their periods secret from all but their mothers, and wives from all but their husbands. It is even said that women wear no protective pads, although they may place an extra mat in bed, because lack of privacy in a *ruka* would betray their condition. Garments or bedclothes that absorb the discharge are promptly laundered with exceptional care. Unwillingness to reveal the menarche, to resort to menstrual huts, or to wear protective pads, stems

[23] Latcham, 1924, p. 467, *et passim*.
[24] Housse, 1939, pp. 261 ff.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

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841 754 not from indifference but rather from the fear that a woman can be easily bewitched if an enemy gets hold of some of the discharge.

841 538 There is a simple folk tale that is supposed to explain the origin of catamenia. A long time ago, a young woman went out in the dark to urinate against the slope of a hill. Just then the moon rose and saw her vagina. The moon regarded this as a lack of respect and punished her by causing her to menstruate every twenty eight days. The term for menstruation is *peküyen·n*, "caught by the moon," *küyen·*, and the phases of the moon are figuratively likened to a woman's life cycle. Thus, a new moon is a virgin, a full moon a pregnant female, and a [842] waning moon is a sterile old woman.[26] The close connection thought to exist between the moon and fertility helps to explain why intercourse with a menstruant is supposed to be likely to cause pregnancy.

[26] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626.

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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because 847 men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend [584] to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take advantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they ●754 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *koftun*.[4] *Koftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Koftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

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WITCHCRAFT AND CURING PRACTICES

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BELIEF in witchcraft, ever widespread among the Araucanians, is still a pervasive element of their culture.[1] A witch or sorcerer, *kal·ku*, seldom operates individually, but is usually thought to be in league with others of his kind. Each *kal·ku* is supposed to train a youngster in the ways of sorcery, but the novice is sworn to secrecy and seldom practices witchery until he is old. Aged women are particularly apt to be suspected of witchcraft. By native definition, a *kal·ku* is one who deliberately harms or kills a person, generally upon request and payment by an enemy of the victim or else because of jealousy. A witch may or may not be related to the injured party, but he who employs a sorcerer must be prepared, if the victim succumbs, to have one of his own kinfolk die to even the score. In this sense, resort to witchcraft is regarded as a gamble.

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A suspected witch was formerly tried before a *loñko* and an assembly of his followers. If the testimony of at least two witnesses or accusers was accepted, the sorcerer was supposed to be slain on the day of the victim's funeral.[2] According to one of the accounts I was given, based on stories a thirty-eight-year-old informant had heard in youth, a guilty witch was tied and dragged by a man on horseback from her home to a spot where a blazing fire had been kindled. She was then beheaded, but to prevent any artful recovery, she was cut into pieces and these were thrown into the fire to be burnt to ashes. If a chief did not want to inflict such severe punishment, he could have the accused witch driven off his territory. Together with her close relatives she would thus be forced to wander from place to place until she found a *loñko* who was willing to accept her and her party. Such a chief might be a distant kinsman, an old friend,

[1] Practically every source dealing with Araucanian culture contains some material on witchcraft and curing. Particularly full accounts that supplement this field report are readily available in Latcham, 1909, pp. 350–53; 1924, pp. 770–822, *et passim;* and Métraux, 1939.

[2] Cf. Molina, 1808, p. 78; and Smith, 1855, p. 237.

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754 696 a broad-minded or kindly individual, or a leader who was willing to take a chance in order to augment his following.

Nowadays, for fear of retaliation, witches are neither killed nor driven away, but they may be induced to leave voluntarily by means of intensive whispering campaigns, or because their neighbors obviously shun them. In fact, it is part of the education of children to warn them to have nothing to do with people suspected of witchcraft. There is reason to believe that some of the Chilean Araucanians who go to Argentina are people under suspicion of being sorcerers.

WITCHCRAFT ACTIVITIES

754 Witches' sabbaths are supposed to be observed in underground caverns or *renũs*. Almost all caves or depressions in the earth are likely to be regarded as *renũs*, wherein dwell all manner of dangerous beasts whom the sorcerers use as familiars. Greatly feared in this context are a wide range of animals including lizards, snakes, foxes, butterflies, partridges, dogs, rats, and, particularly, any creatures of unfamiliar appearance, monsters, or freaks such as two-headed calves. The cries of many [787] birds, or the appearance of animals that unexpectedly cross one's path, are widely held to be portents of sickness and death. So deep-seated is the fear of unusual animals, that some Araucanians who visit the zoological gardens in Santiago come away convinced that the keepers and, by extension, all Chileans must be powerful witches.

754 776 Sorcerers exercise their power by controlling evil spirits, the entire class of which may be termed *wekufũ*.[3] *Wekufũ* occur in many guises, especially in the shapes of the aforementioned beasts and monsters, but they may also take other forms. Conspicuous among these are *piwichen*, a terrifying vampire, sight or sound of which is a sure portent of death, and *choñchoñ*, which is described as a human head equipped with wings. To see or hear it while it is in flight portends death. Whether

[3] Latcham (1909, pp. 351 ff.) distinguished between *huecuvus* ("evil spirits") and *huecuvuyes* ("sorcerers"). He also set up separate categories for *dunguw* ("diviner") and *machi* ("witch doctor" or "exorcist").

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witches can directly control the actions of *piwichen* or *choñchoñ* is a moot question among the people, but all are agreed that these creatures are somehow implicated in sorcery. One popular tale will suffice to illustrate a number of witchcraft beliefs. It concerns a man who was courting a girl that lived at some distance from his home. Whenever he went to see her he would hear the call of a *choñchoñ* and begin to feel violently ill. His elders advised him that the next time this happened he should plunge his knife into the ground. He followed their instructions and, to his surprise, a winged head fell to earth. He thought that it resembled his mistress, so he hurried to her house and there he found her headless body lying on its back. Thereupon, he deliberately rolled the body over, to prevent the head from reattaching itself properly. Then he went home, and the very next day he received word that his sweetheart had died.

A common cluster of witchcraft practices revolves about the use of various things associated with heat and light. They are known collectively as *cherufe*, a word applied to a miscellaneous category that includes stones supposedly derived from the sun or active volcanoes, meteorites and aerolites, comets, shooting stars, and will-o-the-wisps. All witches are believed to own *cherufes*, particularly in the shape of oddly formed stones taken from flaming volcanoes. These particular *cherufes* are sometimes winged, and fly at the command of sorcerers to consume a victim's blood and make him subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, or some other serious ailment.

Two other classes of *wekufū*, frequently involved in the exercise of sorcery, are *witranalwe* and *añchimallen*. These terms signify two kinds of corpses stolen from graveyards and put to evil service by powerful witches. A *witranalwe* is made from the body of an adult and corresponds somewhat to our popular idea of a ghost. It is white, and its outline may be seen but never its face. Ordinarily, a *witranalwe* goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to bedevil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a *witranalwe* is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death. Exciting encounters with *witranalwe* and narrow escapes from them are favorite subjects

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754 of stories, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to per-
775 mit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *witranalwe* is held to blame.

Añchimallen is similar to *witranalwe*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *añchimallen* can only go afoot, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *añchimallen* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[4]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witranalwes* or *añchimallens*.

754 Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are
753 held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death.
761 Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[5] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

754 Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated
828 by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wesa loñko* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wedwed*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

754 When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal·ku* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[4] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 222 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 770–823; and Métraux, 1939, pp. 329–32.

[5] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

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of accepting help in the laundering of stained garments. If the substance furnished is moist, the witch secures it firmly with vegetable fibres and places it in a *renü*. If the material is dry it is cast into a fire. In either event, the victim is supposed to grow thin, sicken, and die, as the substance dries out or is consumed.

Another technique involves the use of similar materials which the sorcerer contrives to introduce into an unsuspecting victim's food. Should a client fail to procure the usual body stuff employed, a witch may prepare a poison, *funapue*, made from the body of a type of lizard known as *fillkuñ*. Those who consume such poisons are supposed to die within six months.[6]

An interesting example of contemporary sorcery practices was related by the Reverend Harry Donaldson. About 1931, while he was living at the home of Juan Antinao in Cautinche, a *machi* made repeated efforts to kill him.[7] For her first attempt she butchered a sheep stolen from Antinao's flock, performed some rites over it, smeared some of its blood on several coins and notes, and scattered them in conspicuous places. Mr. Donaldson picked them up and spread them through the community while purchasing supplies. When no harm befell him, the *machi* left some of the slain beast's flesh on Mr. Donaldson's doorstep, and he fed it to the dogs. After a time the *machi* announced that Christian power was stronger than hers and desisted from further efforts.

BELIEFS REGARDING SICKNESS

One of the most interesting aspects of Mr. Donaldson's narrative is the fact that witchcraft was attempted by a *machi*. Ethnological literature contains many instances of a close correspondence between sorcerer and shaman, but on the whole Araucanians do not equate *kal-ku* and *machi*. They recognize

[6] Widespread belief in poisoning through sorcery explains why the Araucanians perform autopsies to determine the cause of death.

[7] It was a *machi* who was using her supernatural power to perform sorcery. Since *machis* are the religious leaders of the Mapuche they are violently opposed to Christian clergymen.

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754 756 that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas *kal·kus* are shunned and feared, *machis* are called upon for help. Quite often, as a matter of fact, a *machi* may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and *machis* are even thought to have the power to enter a *renü* in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out. Just the same, some say with a knowing chuckle, it is best not to arouse a *machi* because if she gets angry, or if her fees are not paid, she may work hand in hand with a witch, or she herself may engage in sorcery.

754 756 771 773 Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that disrupt the social order. These notions are never unequivocally expressed, for the Mapuche do not systematize their religious beliefs, but two forms of evidence can be cited in support of a dualistic interpretation. For one thing, the natives speak of beneficent deities, *kümeñunechen*, who oppose spirits of evil, known as *wesañunechen*. The latter operate through witches and *wekufü* to cause illness and death, and the former function to oppose them through the agency of *machis*. Equally important is evidence based on a sort of origin myth. Long, long ago, runs the story, a mythical serpent, *kaikai*, raised a flood to overwhelm mankind, but it was counteracted by a magic mountain, *treñtreñ*, that rose ever higher to provide refuge for enough living things to repopulate the earth.[8] The struggle between the two sets of forces is never-ending. Evil powers continue to plague mankind with ailments brought about by *piwichen*, *choñchoñ*, *cherufe*, *witranalwe*, or *añchimallen*. Against them strive the *machis* with the help of prophetic dreams sent by well-disposed supernatural agents.[9]

[8] For further details of this myth see Oyarzún, 1917; and Soustelle, 1938, pp. 39–43.

[9] A *machi* who has dreamed in the night must sing and beat her drum on the next day. Probably, they have frequent dreams, for one or the other of Carrarriñe's two *machis* could be heard beating her drum on numerous occasions.

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affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pilli* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Nguenemapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Nguenemapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this

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Magic and Witchcraft.—As is natural in a race so imbued with superstition and fetish worship, the black art holds a high place in their imagination. Everything not immediately explicable by a natural and visible agency is put down either to evil spirits or to witchcraft. Their thaumaturgy included three class of theurgists; the *huecuvuye* or sorcerer, the *dunguve* or diviner, and the *machi*, witchdoctor or exorcist. This last vocation is common to the two sexes, and has gradually absorbed the other two classes.

The sorcerers were formerly the sacerdotal class, inasmuch as whatever rites, ceremonies, sacrifices or other religious observations took place were performed by them. They wore woman's dress and their hair long and uncombed; dwelt in caves in remote mountainous regions, and were supposed to be in communication with the *huecuvus* (hence their name) over which their arts gave them certain powers, compelling them to work their wills. These beings were held in fear and awe by the people, who attributed to them many of the ills that befell them. They were considered the arbiters of national or tribal welfare, and were consulted on all momentous questions. War was never declared, nor peace offered, except in accordance with their advice.

All those who sought their counsel, took with them considerable presents in payment for their advice or help.

Contrary to the practice of the *dunguves* and *machis*, their incantations and spells were secret and mystic, wrought in the darkness of their caves, and hidden from the eyes of ordinary mortals, although some of their charms were done visibly, such as seeing visions in a bowl of water, and blowing smoke from their mouths in the direction of the dwellings of their enemies. This smoke was regarded as the familiar spirit of the sorcerer, and the direction it took indicated the path the spirit followed. To enter this caste a long apprenticeship was necessary, terminating in a mysterious initiation ceremony.

The caves where these sorcerers dwell are supposed to be guarded by horrible monsters and evil spirits.

After the *huecuvuye* come the diviners or *dunguves*, who are sometimes the acolytes or apprentices of the former, though not generally so.

The *dunguves* exercise a considerable influence in Indian society, as they are consulted on all doubtful points of social or domestic intercourse, and every-day events. It is they who indicate the author of a robbery, the whereabouts of a missing animal or mislaid object, the probable result of a given enterprise, the perpetrator of any evil happening to the flocks and herds. Their services are paid for in goods. Occasionally also, they are consulted respecting the cause of some mysterious death, but this is generally an attribution of the *machis* or exorcists. Ventriloquism is used by *huecuvuye*, *dunguves* and *machis* alike. The *dunguves* perform their divinations outside their huts, their familiar spirit answering them from within.

By far the most popular and most consulted of these personalities is the *machi*, who combines in his person the offices of medicine-man, seer, and exorcist.

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727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huecuvus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first
754 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupon*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huecuvu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

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and placed on a litter adorned with branches of *canelo* and laurel. The litter is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relations. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over. 764

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A sheep is sacrificed over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the orgies and feasting continue till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Ceremonies.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1892, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies. 754 ● 787

Culapan (three lions or pumas), head chief or *apo-ulmen* of the *aillarehue* of the upper Cautin, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witchcraft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the *rehue* where the death had taken place. [164]

The *machi*, or medicine man, was sent for, and a summons sent round for all *toquis* of the neighbouring villages to assemble with their *conya*, or braves. The *machi* arrived a little before nightfall. He was dressed after the fashion of the women, and had a puma skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 18 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

At sunset a fire of green *canelo* wood was lighted before the door of the *ruca* around which more than a hundred persons gathered. From this fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The *machi* took his stand in front of this fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the clouds of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he recovered consciousness, and rushed into the hut where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. What he did there, no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a rude bier near the fire. One of the assistants proceeded to strip it of its garments, after which he made an incision in the side a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small saucer-like

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

754 787 vessel. A few embers were raked together, and the pan placed on them. Every now and then the *machi* would bend over and examine it intently.

The crowd, which was momentarily increasing, sat round at a respectful distance watching the proceedings with profound interest. Only a few of the nearest relatives were allowed within the inner circle, in the capacity of helpers. The whole scene was lighted by numerous torches.

When nothing remained in the saucer but a little sediment, it was taken from the fire, and again carefully examined by the *machi*. This sediment, which I afterwards saw, was of a dark brownish green colour. The examination finished, the *machi* declared that the deceased had died of black poison (*curerunyapue*).

The relatives now insisted on his discovering the poisoner. At first, the *machi* seemed to demur and remained sitting in a crouching posture before the fire, his knees drawn up and his face buried in his hands. It was soon seen, however, that this pretended reluctance was only assumed for the purpose of obtaining greater promises of reward. At length his cupidity being satisfied he took a sudden resolve, and smearing the point of his wand with the residue left in the saucer, he stalked among the ranks of cowering Indians, who now drew apart from each other, none knowing on whom the charge might fall, and although each knew himself innocent, fearful of being considered an accomplice if found conversing with the accused.

Heedless of the commotion, the *machi* moved through the crowd, waving the stick in all directions, and crying aloud in a harsh voice, *Gunemapun alkine cheu melepi kuye*—Lord of the earth, where is the wizard? *Penelelmen chi kuye*—Show me the wizard.

The Indians prostrated themselves before him, covering their heads with their ponchos, so that they should not be distinguished.

In the course of a quarter of an hour he had made the round of the whole assembly without, however, discovering what he sought. Returning to the fire, he threw on some fresh logs, and then stood for a long while buried in contemplation, while little by little the Indians recovered confidence. At last, he traced a circle on the ground, and stuck his wand upright in the centre. He then took from one of his assistants an earthenware jar, which he also placed within the circle. In this jar he placed a lock of hair cut from the head of the corpse, the parings of its finger nails, and several threads drawn from the garments it had worn at the time of its death. Making several passes over this jar, he finally dropped into it a lighted brand, repeating his former cries. He then drew several rude figures of birds and familiar animals round the outer edge of the circle.

754 787 535 Finding no result, he now seized his drum, and agitated it violently, causing a loud rattling from the stones contained in its interior, his two assistants accompanying him on reed pipes or whistles. In a few moments he began a wild dance, executing the most astonishing capers, jumping into the air, swaying his body from one side to the other, leaping from one foot to the other, meanwhile keeping time to his drum.

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By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion.

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up.

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *caita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it.

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of licence indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony.

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*alhue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilyuay*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, mantas, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, cakes or other

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articles of food, and laid them on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*avavan*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*eltun*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*mocetones*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *huecuvus*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart, which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamluyi*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

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619 631 622 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b, p. 363), no one cavi was subject to any other cavi; according to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to the head of the cabi which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cúga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The 621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavís respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

622 In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adult- 674 ery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. 627 The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times, headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or ●754 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llaŋkas, 10 such strings for one death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 40–59.)

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claimed to derive her power directly from ŋ°néchen, the Supreme Being, and/or from deceased shamans. She also called upon deceased machis to intercede with the Supreme Being to give her power to cure. She was likewise helped to get in touch through trance with the spiritual world by special spiritual helpers and/or by projection of her own soul out of her body.

Ancient methods of treatment, as described in detail by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 159–61), included: Use of the *Drimys winteri*, the drum, fumigating with tobacco smoke, killing of an animal with extraction of the heart and licking of the blood therefrom, pretended extraction and replacement of the patient's entrails, and shamanistic trance. Other older practices included massage and extraction by suction or other method of the small stick, worm, or other object responsible for the disease.

All these features, apart from the pretended entrail extraction, were common in more modern shamanistic treatment of disease, together with a certain number of additional features. Such more modern ones were: Recitation of powerful curative prayers or magical formulas given to the shaman by the Supreme Being; climbing by the machi of the ladderlike pole of the rewe (pl. 153, *top, right*), and falling in a sort of swoon therefrom and being caught by assistants in a blanket; prayers or incantations, charges on horseback with shouts, and the palm-to-mouth war cry, to put to flight the evil spirits; use of the calabash rattle, and playing of flutes by the machi's assistants. Actually, the rites in modern treatments were very elaborate and complicated.

Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the ŋillatun rite. And Robles Rodríguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the machi entered intimately and actively into the ŋillatun rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being.

The line between the shaman (machi) and the sorcerer (kal·ku) cannot always be easily drawn. From the native standpoint, it would seem that the machi's function was fundamentally a socially beneficent one; the sorcerer's, a fundamentally maleficent one. A kal·ku believed to be responsible by use of poisons, of mythical servitors, or of ivunche (stolen infants) for the death of a person, was apt to be put to death, and commonly by being burnt alive. (For details on sorcerer, cf. Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 167–72.)

MYTHOLOGY

Much of *Mapuche-Huilliche* folklore has been deeply influenced by European sources. It is often very hard to determine just where

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578 "It would not mean the same." Vile expressions used by angry persons, generally hurled back and forth between them, informants preferred not to translate. "They are really bad words; I will not tell them; they are sex words related to men. We have words, too, that are so bad that should a mother be very angry with her children, she will not call her children by them." Cooper lists among common insulting terms "ghost," "dog," and "toad," and, as worst of all, "sorcerer." He directs the reader (1946, p. 729) to Guevara (1911, pp. 50-56) for a list including grosser insults.

An old man gave a sample of an imprecation used by Araucanians, "even in old days." He spoke it in low tones in Araucanian. His wife and daughter murmured displeasure, in fact slight horror. He translated it as meaning, "Would that it were the will of God that you be unlucky." He added, "This is the worst thing of all that one Mapuche can say to another."

578 152 Murder is known to have resulted from anger. An instance was related in which relatives of an Araucanian woman who was married to a Chilean came to the woman's ruka and told her that they were taking the land on which she and her Chilean husband were living. There had been much quarreling between the two groups regarding the land, because Chileans, so the relatives claimed, had no right to live on Araucanian land. One of the women relatives had with her a leather strap; with it, she said, she would whip the Chilean off the land if he refused to leave it. When the quarrel was on, she attempted to do this. The Chilean grabbed the strap and whipped the woman so severely with it that she died a few hours later. The Chilean, accompanied by his brother, immediately delivered himself up to Chilean civil authorities. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The immediate relatives of the woman said nothing; more distant ones sided with the Chilean on the ground that the woman had had no right to whip this man or any other man. The informant continued: "That Chilean man was not known to be a quarrelsome man; he probably lost his temper." The interpreter noted: "The Mapuche do not uphold anyone of their own who is punished by the Chilean courts, not even a near relative. They say that the person has committed an offense and is deserving of his punishment."

● 754 Revenge is taken upon another by doing harm to his fields through witchcraft (pp. 154-155), or to his person by secretly putting poison into his food or drink, or by bringing sickness upon him through witchcraft. I was told of a case of a jealous machi (one of three simultaneous wives) who bore her husband no child, while the other two wives did. When these other two wives were found dead, one with her child in her arms, the machi was accused of poisoning them.

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many, but the bird is seen by no one." "In Queule a machi was locked up by Chilean policemen because a choñchoñ flew round and round a place, trying to get in. It was worrying the people."

All ill health, both physical and mental, it is believed, is due to the spirit of sickness, which is inflicted by a sorcerer upon someone against whom there is ill will. The sorcerer may be a machi (certain machi are sorcerers) or an outright witch, known as a kalku. The ill will may be the sorcerer's own, or that of a person who has hired the sorcerer. If a medium is used, no one but the sorcerer knows what it is. Many suspect it is the choñchoñ. One instance was related in which the medium was known. "My wife's sickness [abdominal tumor] was inflicted upon her by a machi," said a man. "Here is how it was done: a neighbor woman [26 years old] cut off two opposite corners of my wife's chamall, and the machi used these to bring sickness upon my wife." Another instance was related in which the medium was not known. Four girls of two families were known to be jealous of a young woman because a man had married her and not one of them. When the young woman became sick her family accused these four girls of hiring a kalku to bring sickness upon her, and intended to hire a machi to discover whether these were the culprits. "Certain machi, you know, have the powers to make such discoveries."

In general, it is believed that the spirit of sickness is transferred from a sick person to one that is well. Two schoolboys, when questioned by their teacher one morning for the reason of their bruised faces, merely cast angry looks at each other. Girls in the school volunteered the information that the two boys had had an angry fist fight on the way home from school the previous afternoon. One of the boys then said, "Yes, when my mother was sick and we had the machitun made for her at our home, his father was there." "Yes," interrupted the second boy, "he was even good enough to help your family pay the machi by donating 10 pesos toward the price of your machitun." "Yes," said the first boy, "and then when your sister died, your family said that the machi took the devil of sickness out of my mother and put it into your sister."

Kalku were known to bring about an immediate death, or a prolonged sickness with gradual loss of vitality and weight and ultimate death, by putting poison into food or drink. Araucanians themselves warned non-Araucanians who worked among them not to drink milk or eat milk products, such as cheese; for an Araucanian with ill will might have put poison into the milk—neither taste nor eye could discern it. They were advised, too, not to eat eggs given to them by Araucanians, unless the eggs had been stored for three days. Poisoned

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fluids were injected into eggs through tiny punctures made in the shells, and the punctures were then sealed with the root of a plant. If no black spots appeared in the yolk or albumen after the three days, it was safe to eat them. 754

In Boroa area, a plant called cicuta mayor was used in poisoning persons. In Panguipulli area, either the fluids or the powdered dried viscera of a poisonous toad were used. A teacher in the area told of a clique of girls who admitted that they were planning to extract such poison from a toad to bring sickness upon a classmate who persisted in doing the best schoolwork. A non-Araucanian who had spent more than 50 years in the area told that along the beach of Panguipulli Lake one can sometimes see a heap of legs, skins, and heads of frogs in one place. "Sometimes there will be quantities of these in one spot," he said; "it is a sign that a Mapuche has made preparations to poison another." The viscera, the informant knew, were dehydrated and ground to a fine powder. 754 278

Since all sickness is the result of the ill will of another, the best preventive of ill health is to maintain the good will of all. However, once sickness has come upon someone, it can be prevented from afflicting others in the family by hiring a machi to chase the spirit of sickness from the locality. Two ways of doing this were mentioned: In one, the father of the sick person offers a sheep as sacrifice. The machi kills it and sprinkles its blood inside the ruka and in the yard surrounding it; this makes it intolerable for the spirit of sickness to stay there, and it will leave of its own accord. In another way, the machi drives the spirit of sickness, which he has just released from a sick person, away from the area. The machi orders all persons present to make a great deal of noise. Then the machi grasps a firebrand from the fireplace and swirls it in circles around the place, and orders others present to do likewise. After all have swung their firebrands for a while, the machi walks rapidly toward some water, "like a creek or river or lake," and all follow, each one brandishing his firebrand. This chases the spirit of sickness across the water, and a spirit thus chased across water cannot return; one not chased across water may possibly return at a later time. 755

Several women who had been employed as domestics in non-Araucanian homes had learned prevention by noncontamination. "If I had tuberculosis," said one, "I would keep my plate and yerba maté bambillo apart and would not let my children use them." There was probably little done to strengthen a child's physique as a preventive of ill health, except for the baby's cold baths, previously mentioned (pp. 20-21). "At least I have never heard anyone say so. I am 751

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751 certain that no boy or girl was thrown into cold water or made to run races to do so, as you say some indigenas did."

THE KALKU, THE MACHI

754 Individuals are not only suspected of being kalku, but an occasional one is openly accused of being one. However, no one has positive proof that any particular person is a kalku. A kalku always does harm; never does he bring about a cure. He not only brings about sickness and death, but also harms property (cf. pp. 154-156). He works unbeknown to anyone but himself or his fellow kalku. He is spoken of with disrespect, and it is hoped that vengeance will come down upon his head. It is not known how kalku are trained in their black art, "but I think there are old ones around here, and they teach younger members in their own families." Kalku are of both sexes; so are machi.

756 Being a machi is a profession. Machi women (pls. 29, *1*; 30, *1*) who came under my observation (no machi men were seen) had an air of self-confidence and self-importance; they were decidedly different in their demeanor from other women. During conversation there were frequent gesticulations such as raising the hands to the level of [201] the face and bringing finger tips together—gestures also used during the machitun. Other Araucanian women were calm and quiet when talking. In general, when a machi arrived where a group had gathered, as at a fiesta, the conduct of others become inhibited; and "no one ever talks about the machi for fear harm will come to him. If a machi comes to a house, a good meal is prepared for him, or her, and as much respect is shown him as though he were a Chilean governor. A machi never does any work. It fills one with fear to watch a machi in action."

The profession of a machi is followed either of one's own volition, or because parents urge it upon a child as its life's work, or, most often, because of a compulsive dream. One machi had had a dream in which he was near a waterfall. Here he was decorated with copihue, a sign that he should be a machi; and a certain song came to him—one that he has since used. When he awakened, he announced that he would make a machi of himself. A woman machi when young had been told in a dream by a former machi to replace him, and then a name came to her—"the kind of name that no one but a machi can use."

The following was told by an old man to a high-school student as the dream that compelled her to become a machi:

In my dream I saw two beings, sent by chau (God), descending from heaven to earth. I did not know them, but I had no fear of them; they appeared to be

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796 are dropped on the fireplace where they are consumed—they are consumed after the hens, and the hens are consumed after the lambs. Before the women's offerings are burnt, the following prayers are said in Mapuche: "God Father who art in heaven, you see what we are doing here today, that we are offering you this sacrifice; forgive us our faults; give us food and a good year; do not punish us since today we offer you this lamb and all these cereals and vegetables which you, God Father, gave us. We beg you, God Father, that you give us a good year, that you will not punish us with intense heat, that you will let the seeds sprout well so that there will be a good harvest, that there will be no sickness among your children whom you now see here; that there will be no mishap among your sons and daughters in their work in the fields and on the sea where your sons work. Fill our lives with good living. We beg, also, you, God Mother, to pray to God Father for us. We call also on you, the caciques who have left us, and who now see us from heaven where you are." Every married man has brought a tortilla [about 12 inches in diameter] and a cántaro of mudai. At present the mudai is made of corn, or wheat and barley, ground on the metate; formerly, the women chewed the corn and spat it into an olla and let it ferment into mudai.

Between the two dances during the fourth act, each sergeant distributes pieces of tortillas, which he has cut from those offered at the maqui, to men, women and children from his locality who danced—those who were merely onlookers do not receive any. After that, he passes mudai to the same persons. The mudai which is not drunk is poured out. Nothing is taken home.

Children join in all dancing and are present everywhere. They must be orderly and show respect by their conduct. The machi are present but merely as other persons are; they have no duties at the ŋillatun nor are they shown any special respect.

At the end of the ŋillatun the machi bid each other goodbye. All others say goodbye to each other—just like we do after Mass—some merely embrace, others kiss, everybody shakes hands.

BLACK ART

754 Black art, or witchcraft, is resorted to as a means of revenge or because of jealousy. Once it is suspected that black art has been inflicted on a person or his property, retaliation is sought through the same means. Kalku—witches, both men and women—practice it either directly or through a medium (cf. pp. 70, 155). If it is inflicted on persons, the result is physical or mental ill health (cf. pp. 110, 124); if on property, fields of wheat are usually involved. The medium employed is known only to the kalku using it, unless he has told some of his fellow kalku about it. Panguipulli informants knew that several kalku met periodically secretly "in the deep woods where no one else goes," and there laid their plans to do injury to someone. Such meetings are called reniruka.

If a wheat field is to be damaged, the medium used is the meat of any 4-footed animal and/or eggs, which are bewitched and buried

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in the field. Children everywhere volunteered information which agreed with that already obtained from adults regarding fields that had been ruined by witchcraft. Quoting a 14-year-old Alepúe boy: "They will then search in the field for meat—it is usually wrapped in a rag and can be found. I have helped to look for such a little package. If they find the meat, they hang it over the edge of the fire in the ruka so that it will dry up. This will cause the one who buried it to dry up, also. Others stick it full of needles and lay it in the sun. The one who did the damage then feels the pain of the needles. Soon he begins to feel sick; and soon after that a terrible sickness will come over him which will give him the sensation of needles in his body. His entire body will tremble. If the sun shines, he will go out and stay in the hot sunshine" (something not done by sane persons). A 12-year-old boy, a listener-in, explained: "The kalku can use eggs in place of meat, if he wishes to; but usually meat is used. After the bewitched meat or eggs are in the field for several days, the wheat in that field either turns yellow or shrivels up. If they find the buried meat, they will hang it over the fire and cause the person who did the damage to shrivel up just like the wheat shriveled up. But if the one whose field was injured does not wish to take revenge, but is forgiving, he will throw the meat into a river—people can find out at the machitun who is responsible for the damage; for example, the machi will say that such and such a neighbor is. If the family wants to take revenge, however, it may then decide to hire a kalku to do injury to that neighbor by spoiling his wheat field." "I asked our neighbor, one day," said a non-Araucanian teacher, "why a certain man was losing weight perceptibly. He answered that the man had planted eggs or meat in somebody's wheat field, and that he was now reaping the result of his evil deed. He then told of an old woman near here who was burying eggs and meat in her brother-in-law's land and was caught in the act. The brother-in-law immediately dug up the meat and hung it over the fire. Then the woman took sick with asthma, and began to lose weight; she was sick for two years. By that time the man had pity on his brother (the husband of the woman) and threw the meat into the creek. As the meat took on shape slowly by absorbing water, the woman gradually got better, and finally got well. This happened six years ago [1940]." In Panguipulli area retaliation by shriveling the bewitched meat is not known. A common form of revenge there is to poke two sticks at right angles through one of the eggs found in the field and then to hang the egg over the fire. In consequence the one who did the damage to the field will become blind or have an arm paralyzed.

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754 Although all informants were willing to tell about the evil effects of black art, no one was found willing to discuss the manner in which it was performed—probably because of lack of knowledge or of fear of being suspected of being a kalku. When a man more than 100 years old was asked about the manner of exercising witchcraft, there was much quiet laughter and exchange of glances among listening-in relatives, men, women, and children, and remarks were made in undertones in Araucanian. After some hesitation the old man said, "A kalku can be either a man or a woman. Kalku are wicked persons. I do not want to be asked anything more about them. I do not believe in them." Skeptical persons said that they had no belief in the powers of the kalku but noted that certain things that happened to persons and fields could hardly be explained otherwise. Even non-Araucanians remarked about this. Said one, "I myself saw a wheat field in Pucura withering away while adjoining fields were producing a crop. The Mapuche said that they had found rotten eggs in it; that these had been treated with witchcraft." Said another non-Araucanian in another area: "It is really true that an entire field sometimes becomes yellow, while adjoining fields stay green. How this can happen I have never been able to explain to myself."

A non-Araucanian teacher told the following as an example of transfer of misfortune through black art: "I have walked through pastures and woods with children. Invariably when we see a handkerchief or a piece of cloth—maybe it will be lying on a hedge or on a thornbush, or be caught in a fence—the children say, 'Do not touch that! Do not touch that! Somebody put it there to do you harm!' They believe that it is bewitched with the misfortune of someone and that anyone who takes it will receive the misfortune of that person, and that then the other person will be rid of it. I have seen such pieces of cloth or handkerchiefs rot away because everyone believes this."

CONJURING

787 Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but occasions for resorting to it seem few. In the early days it was done at a machitun only; today it 756 is resorted to during the machitun (cf. pp. 115-121 for the machitun), and also while the machi smokes or dreams. "I know of an occasion," said an old man, "in which a machi changed her spirit into a sparrow hawk (llelleqkeñ); she might have chosen any favorite animal. Here is what happened: A woman here [in Chile] was told by another woman that her (the first woman's) husband, who was in Argentina, had died. The first woman wanted to know whether this was true,

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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, *a*).

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today.

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth.

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw

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754 but who was like a human, had extraordinary powers. He lived south of here, and persons often went to confer with him regarding sickness. He was talked to from a distance, and answered from there in a strong voice, always. I remember one instance well. The cacique was Chokeri. Either his wife or his sister—I have forgotten which—became very ill. No one knew the cause. So Chokeri sent a messenger to Olul to ascertain the cause. Olul answered that the woman had poison in her blood; they should take her saddle, cut it open, and there find the cause. They did this, and out jumped a big toad. And that was the witchcraft that caused the sickness. They took the toad, threw it into the fire, and roasted it to death. This done, the woman got well. Olul no longer lives. Whoever finds his bones can restore his own health by means of them. I should like very much to find a piece of one, now that I have suffered from a cold for seven weeks; I might get relief."

A 69-year-old woman complained that a jealous man, a neighbor who had powers of witchcraft, had inflicted sickness upon her and her 25-year-old daughter. They were considered rich, whereas the man had only a few possessions. A black vulture had hopped around their yard recently, one they had not seen before. It occurred to them that harm was being done to them. "We were filled with fear," she said. "That night, while we were in bed, there was much loud knocking in all corners of our house. The next day both my daughter and I were sick. We knew then that the black vulture had been sent to make us sick. We were sick for days. One day while we were feeling very sick, we heard the tramping of many, many horses. It sounded as though horses were going into the shack in which we had stored winter feed for our animals. We went out to see. We could neither see nor hear the horses. We knew that old man, our neighbor, had caused many to die in our area, among them my husband, and we thought we were doomed to die, also. No one in all this area knows what antidote to give for the sickness he inflicts."

754 158 Mental ill health was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians who had lived in close association with Araucanians for several generations knew of only one case of a functional type. Another, a woman who had thyroid surgery in very recent years, was said to have sat for hours drawing Araucanian weaving designs in sand while speaking continuously in Araucanian (non-Araucanians in close association with her for years did not know she spoke Araucanian). When mental ill health did occur, it was believed witches had inflicted it. An 80-year-old woman told of a machi whom everyone feared. "I knew him. One day, when I was already a young woman, he took some apples

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from our orchard. Several days later he returned with two of them, went to the house of one of our neighbors who had two daughters and where he was well known, and offered an apple to each of the two girls. One girl ate hers immediately, the other ate hers a little later—it was this one the machi wished to marry. But the girl did not want to marry him; her parents knew this. Without warning, the girl suddenly became insane. Her father told the cacique what had happened, and said, 'You must help us.' The cacique sent for his own brother and for the machi, and, in the presence of the brother and the girl's father, said to the machi, 'You have done damage to this girl; you want to force her to marry you; that is why you have done this to her.' But the machi would not admit it. The cacique, his brother, and the father of the girl then went to the Argentine military officers who were in control of our area. The cacique had told the machi to appear there, but he did not do so. While the three men were talking to the officers, they noticed through a window that the machi was passing by. The military officers ordered two soldiers to bring him in. Again the machi denied that he had done any harm to the girl. The Argentine colonel ordered a scissors to be brought and threatened to cut off the machi's hair—he had long hair. But the machi kept saying, 'No, señor. No, señor.' Then they whipped him with 5 lashes; still he denied it, then with 10, and still he denied it. They threatened 15 lashes, and then he admitted his guilt. The colonel ordered him to remove immediately the damage he had inflicted on the girl. The machi promised to do this, and accompanied by two soldiers started out for the girl's home. Near a brook along the mountainside, he asked the soldiers to halt. They did so. He plucked several handfuls of grass that grew close to the water's edge and they walked on. When they arrived at the girl's home, he asked for a clean plate. He crushed the grass between the palms of his hands, squeezed out the juice, and told the girl to swallow it. This was two months after he had done her the damage. That girl vomited all the apple that she had eaten two months before! After that she got well. Later, she told how, during the period of insanity, she had run to the shores of Lake Lacar and had jumped into and out of three fires there without being harmed."

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PHYSICIANS; THE MACHITUN

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists and by machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers, or only sorcerers. "It depended upon the type of sickness that a person had, as to who was called in." Machi, however, are not respected by Argentines;

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are going one by one!" It was customary for the cacique to order the sergeant to unearth the vessel at the subsequent ñillatun. "He may find the vessel half emptied," noted Kolupan. "If he does, the cacique will announce to the people that either chau chau took the other half or the dead ate it—there is a world in which the dead live, you know." "Do you really believe, Kolupan," I asked, "that the dead ate it?" Much annoyed he rejoined, "Most certainly, the dead took it. And they must have eaten it or why would they have taken it? You could come to that conclusion yourself!"

BLACK ART, HOBGOBLINS, VISIONS

Formerly, both sexes were accused of being sorcerers (kalku); today, more often men are so accused (when I was in the area, a Quilaquina man in his fifties was so accused; cf. p. 322). Sorcerers do harm to persons, animals, and fields by personal contact or through a medium. Harm done to a field of grain is called dano; witchcraft in general is called kalkutun. Witchcraft can be overcome, however, by someone who knows how to counteract it.

Witchcraft is often exercised because of jealousy. It may be used on someone who has a good harvest several successive years to bring about failure in his crops or sickness for himself. Sorcerers were punished by being hung over a fire and left there to burn to death. "That is the way it was done, formerly. The kalku would say, 'Why do you hang me? What you accuse me of, I have not done. Those people whom you say I caused to die died a natural death; they would have died in any event.' But the hanging was done." Kolupan told of one method of attempting to discover sorcerers. "Chechetta, a cacique, was cold-hearted. When it was known that an enemy was on the way to attack our people, he called the people of his lof-che together and ordered all the women to sit down in two rows.—My father often told me this.—Chechetta wanted to find out if there was a kalku among the women; he feared that if there were one, she would betray our people to the enemy, once the enemy was near enough. He ordered each woman to raise both hands like this [thumbs opposed and palms outward]. Behind each woman stood a man who rested his lance upon the woman's shoulder. There was much and loud beating of the kultrun, and yelling by the people. Every woman was now closely observed. If she moved her hands or dropped them or showed nervousness in any way, she was declared to be a witch, and was burned to death. Chechetta died. His son Llakatrul was the next cacique. He said that it was not right to kill a woman for such reasons, that maybe

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754 she showed signs of nervousness because of the noise or because of something she saw her children do. Llakatrul did away with killing persons suspected of witchery."

I was told by an 80-year-old woman that she heard that a woman, a suspected witch, was coming to visit her. "I made a cross of garlic (ajo) on the bench where she was to sit. That kept her away from here," said the woman revengefully, and added triumphantly, "and I have not heard since that she plans to visit me." The interpreter was convinced that the informant herself was a witch, for how else could she know what to do to keep a witch away.

776 Solomonkeros, witches of "people who lived north of us," formerly lived in the Araucanian country. They were said to be small people, half human and half animal and were fierce fighters. They lived in certain caves (renu), traveled underground from lake to lake, "like from Lake Huechulafquen to Lake Lacar," and went from what is now Argentina to Chile through passages under the Cordillera.

776 There is a belief in hobgoblins, which are called anchimallen. "They
787 seem to be made of fire, but they do no harm to anyone. When they appear they are all over, everywhere." "My mother," said a 65-year-old woman, "told me anchimallen are round in shape and appear like fire. They leave small footprints in the ashes around the fireplace. When people see them or the footprints, they are frightened."

Several informants had had visions, among them Kolupan. "When I was a young fellow," he said, "I was herding sheep along a well-traveled road. Suddenly, before sundown, the sheep stirred, like sheep do when they are frightened, and made sounds of 'ah, sh, sh,' like frightened sheep do. Since sheep are frightened only when they see something bad, I looked around and then I saw what they were seeing: I saw a kalku, a woman dressed in black. By that time the sheep had scattered in all directions. Then the woman vanished. Nothing more happened that day. Another day, at sunset, a man and I were walking home—the man was no longer sober. Suddenly, we both saw a radal (tree) turn into a giant man. He was dressed in black, too. I called out, 'What are you? A person? Living or dead? Are you a good or a bad person?' He vanished without answering."

776 A woman in her fifties had often heard old Araucanians tell, when she was still a child, that a woman who was still a virgin walked along a road and met a snake. The snake was walking upright, as all snakes formerly walked. The woman commanded the snake to crawl on the earth, and ever since then snakes crawl on the earth. The interpreter, a non-Araucanian, had often heard the same story told by old Araucanians.

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DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. Always a person is the causative agent. Quilaquina informants suspected an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some persons and death to many. His activity was omened, but his method of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of omens of death always included a being called chofichofi. The sounds of chofichofi are like the call of a bird in flight and are heard only at night; consequently, chofichofi is spoken of as a nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding chofichofi as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death: "These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in most cases to cause death. The bird they call chofichofi. One morning some years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in the orchard last evening, I heard chofichofi say "Tus, tus, tus." Then he flew past me and said "Sh-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her late sixties had heard chofichofi say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she said, "takes notice when chofichofi is heard. One will say, 'What is that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te' over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know what it is that gives that call. But whoever sends chofichofi intends no good."

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe chofichofi is a spirit. You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet, then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know that now someone will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties, added, "I have heard chofichofi. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of chofichofi, it is believed that death is omened in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence. Kolupan's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse, or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

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763 787 always following one, someone died. Before my first wife died, I dreamed that I was curled up with cramps, curled up like a newborn baby is. That is the position she was in when she died."

As an example that sensing the presence of a being omened death, a woman in her middle sixties repeated what her mother had told her: "A man was killed in a fight. After this his wife and baby lived alone —the baby was so small that it was still being tied to its cradleboard. They had no close neighbors. One night the spirit of the man came into the house. His wife recognized the spirit immediately and was frightened. The man squatted at the fireplace, ate, and drank chicha. The woman became more and more frightened as she watched him eat. She crawled backward to the wall of her house. When he finished eating he kissed the baby and vanished. Two days later the baby died."

A woman in her eighties often felt someone pulling at the hem of her skirt. "I believe it is my deceased husband who does so. Once I heard three raps which I discovered later meant to tell me that my daughter would die; she died soon after this. My sister once heard loud sobbing but saw no one. Following this, she saw footprints of a very small child around the fireplace. Later a relative died."

● 754 Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians believed that machi who were also sorcerers caused slow death by poisoning. The wife of a non-Araucanian estancia owner told the following (in 1951): "About six weeks ago one of our most faithful and intelligent Araucanian workmen asked for time off to go home; his brother was sick, he said. After several days he returned, very sad. His brother, he said, would die. Would we let him have lumber to make a coffin? 'Your brother may get well again,' I said. 'Why make a coffin before he has died? As long as he is alive, you must hope that he will recover.' He listened and then said, sadly, 'No, he will die. The machi treated him and said that he cannot live.' My husband and I and other non-Araucanians often said that the machi gives the sick person poison which will bring on a slow death; without fail, today, after the machitun has been made over a sick person, the person lives but a short time."

DEATH, WAKE, BURIAL, MOURNING

763 Formerly, when death was imminent, relatives came to the dying person's home, where they were fed and housed until after the burial. This tradition, to which has been added that of burning candles, is still carried out in Quilaquina and Trumpul. "This is often a hardship today, for it means slaughtering several large animals, of which we have too few as it is."

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty.

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity.

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied.

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen.

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat

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an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships between their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

An important consideration which might be made here, however, is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence,

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere.

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED [a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous arrangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of [583] these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meθomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meθomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives [587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and [754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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584 836 848 578 558 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The [177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 [836] The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In 68 [692] the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according [754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur- [682] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of [839] adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this [836] practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said [628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. [754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is [178] usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the [628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category [692] of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker – outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reservation I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment – no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk and meet in public – at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, members of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn. Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatuſe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *füllatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny – which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links – has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units – unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *weküfü*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring

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764 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting
775 place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar
though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of
Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living
[776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. An-
[754] cestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from cap-
ture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit
into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the mis-
fortune of the living.

764A The most intimately involved and most responsible persons partici-
613 pating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which
the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair
of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved
would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at
least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of
the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical
accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which
he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that
they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of
evil.

764 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under
613 normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this
628 reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong
moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, repre-
sentatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to mem-
bers of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By
this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assem-
blage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the fes-
[754] tive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of
the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other
people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral com-
munity these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make
an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply
felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the
compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with re-
spect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human
fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as
they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except
for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

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world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same caliber in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*nguillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

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Introduction

hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination by a kalku. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a kalku, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (weu) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shamans, for example, characteristically engage in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revelation rites (ñeimeewen) connected with their own "society."

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kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1951:29).

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Guevara, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples.

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites keyed, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publicly for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil.

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional,

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insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society. In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs, equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized behavior is in concordance with the moral order which permeates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality.

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage.

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *wallaken* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *wallaken* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship.

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554 602 613 583 571 [60] and the one which must pay for them.[3] This is expressed in kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan:* to purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle). These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[4] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes 584 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her 613 father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [3] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to [754] associate *ñillen* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[4] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:207).

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776 562 [754] of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

775 769 Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, especially the *karuhue*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

769 622 179 When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

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cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chilcans.

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

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777 782 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal [791] may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the [793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual [754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery [789] and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

796 795 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in 754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the 795 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power 796 of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces [756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After 683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the [811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being [613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as [178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran:* strange or alien; *alwe:* spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

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754 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle,
755 usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away
[756] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed
[177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in* turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

794 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one
795 or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *weza lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. *Intrusive black magic* is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-acts forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 [754] [776] [764] [787] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*weza l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

[165]

764 775 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") *is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed* in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit *is* still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am, pu lahu, huiñche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *huiñche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *am*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with misery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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The Ritual Congregation I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite.

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute ours, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (married and members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other collaterally groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an unmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their respective communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups.

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
598 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
783 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
754 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate *in* funeral services. It *is* accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the
613 new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
602 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [599] [571]

* This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
598 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral
[783] service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
598 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
602 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-
613 married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of local ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of wekufe. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its local and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder.
[969] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations indicated in Diagram II. These not directly tied together by marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tolten region.

The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change, former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance than the second point. The second point involves a consideration of the relationship between affinity and enmity, or the moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1961a; 1961) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization tells about the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

[Errata: see category 118, p. 311, for corrections -- Analyst]

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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

This chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent as they arise but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: Mediating the Forces of Good

It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death *that people place their faith and trust in a machi.* She always requires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the machi enters the body of Ngünen, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The machi is the most spiritually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a kultrun (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the machi), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

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a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and rejoining the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but *they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits* sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (dazed) consultation was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw grass on the fire and, as currents of the room became lighted unnaturally, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was human contamination of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *kalkun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the respect in the local people of this "demonstrated" power of the *machi*.

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75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*. Upon agreeing to conduct a *kalkutun*, the *machi* requests the 75 victim's family to bring saliva, eyebrows, fingers and toenail 787 parings, and head hairs which have been saved by them for this purpose. The *machi* is entrusted with these items for a year. After the year has passed, these objects begin to "speak" to her of the cause of death. The *machi* calls the victim's family around her to listen to these objects. Those present are able to understand only a small part of what the objects are saying. In the course of her performance, the *machi* reveals, through the objects, the *kalku* who is responsible for the victim's death, and [683] also suggests the proper manner of killing the *kalku*. This is as far as the *machi* goes, unless she is one of the rare ones willing to undertake the supernatural murder of the witch. In any case, the family returns home armed only with the *kalku*'s general (and stereotyped) description and notice of her general whereabouts, for the *machi* does not furnish the *kalku*'s name or that of the *kalku*'s client.

754 It is up to the family to take further action against the witch or her client if they choose. Seizure and burning was the 683 traditional manner in which *kalku* were disposed of in the past, but the Chilean police force has put an end to that. The witch-burning tales told by informants do not relate their own experiences, usually, but those of their fathers and grandfathers. When direct action is taken against a witch today, the family of the victim does so by hiring the services of another *kalku* to practice counter magic. However, this action has drawbacks. *Kalku* are rather prone to loyalty to one another, for one thing, and it might be difficult to find a professional witch who admits to being a powerful *kalku*. Should a *kalku* be approached and then refuse to lend assistance, the would-be client considers himself in some danger. *Kalku* are available for doing harm to ordinary people, but usually balk at combatting one of the sisterhood.

751 *Machi* performances themselves are dangerous to participants and spectators, since anyone connected with the manipulation of spirits is considered exposed to supernatural danger. There are somewhat effective safeguards that people may employ, which at least limit or reduce supernatural danger. Recently,

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shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and, therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: Marshalling the Forces of Evil

Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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of evil run high. One result has been an evident lack of clarity about this distinction in most recent literature. One thing is certain, however, past and present, sorcery is rife in Mapuche-land, and it is of great daily concern to the people.

Since all information about witchcraft is secondhand, that is, since it is about witches rather than from witches, and since concern with witchcraft is of such importance, it is not surprising that upon sorting out the statements of informants almost every house on almost every reservation seems to contain its *kalku*. Mapuche give ample evidence that there are many more *kalku* than *machi*.

Anyone may practice witchcraft, or attempt to, and under certain circumstances is to be feared. But it is generally acknowledged that some *kalku* are more powerful than others. These are the *kalku* of reputation, the professionals who have a clientele, with whom people connive for purposes of evil, occasionally of great evil. Lesser matters such as causing harm to a neighbor's crops or animals may be undertaken by ordinary Mapuche, although not always with success. When the venture is great and when success must be guaranteed, resort is made to professional *kalku*. These almost defy identification by the outsider, since exact knowledge of powerful witches is an admission of complicity on the part of the informant. Expressions, such as "they say" punctuate accounts about witchcraft. It is generally agreed, however, that powerful *kalku* are women and that among these are some *machi* who have been defeated by the forces of evil, or who have not been initiated into the profession as full-fledged shamans. These latter are easy to identify, because they do not have the traditional *machi*'s pole outside their house.

Kalku may inherit their power from ancestors who are *kalku*, but recruits also come in large number from young girls who are unrelated, or only distantly related, to the witch who inducts them into her circle. Ideally, *kalku* take these recruits to their *reñu*, or witches' cave, there they instruct them through example in the practice of sorcery, and hold them to secrecy on pain of death. Actually, instruction is piecemeal, informal, takes place on the reservation, and involves a good deal of improvisation on the part of the aspiring witch. As with a *machi*, the feeling of

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754 power and the confirmation of success condition the activities of a *kalku*.

Most of those persons thought to be *kalku* are described as old women, or middle-aged women. I am unclear as to what is supposed to happen to the young girls pressed into service, unless it takes many years for them to develop their powers or, at least, develop them sufficiently to practice homicidal sorcery. I knew of no young sorcerers having a clientele. This was never explained to my satisfaction, except for the indication that a witch must mature before she can deal successfully with the forces of evil. The younger women occasionally whispered about in connection with sorcery were never described as powerful, professional *kalku*. Rather than dealing in death, they dealt in love potions to secure mates for designing men and women, in undermining the favor of certain co-wives (in the compound or *lofche*), and in other sorts of petty and malicious acts far short of serious illness and death. These young women seem never to have charged for their services.

754 888 Old women are especially suspect (although infrequently among themselves). They are thought to be envious of the young, and there is some evidence that they are. They have had long experience with magic and are felt to harbor general hostility toward people around them. Old men are not so judged; nor are women with pleasant dispositions. The women with the most pleasing dispositions are usually those living in the most favorable circumstances, those with husbands or children to care for them, those able to invite guests to their house, and to play a respectable, matronly role in community activities. The old woman who lives alone, who nags her son or brother to support her, who complains volubly if they do not, who mutters to herself while going about the countryside for no apparently good reason, who might well have been near the scene of some misfortune—an old woman of this sort is generally suspected of being adept in the black art. This is even more widely the opinion if she is an in-married crone who has survived her husband and many of her children. But no one is entirely free from suspicion, at least not on all occasions.

754 886 According to Mapuche definition, a professional *kalku* is any person who controls one or more evil spirits, most generally a

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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[9] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *ñillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *ñillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[9] This poses a problem with regard to vengeance by witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, anomie?

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(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

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kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others.

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community.

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these

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754 578 accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

754 578 622 Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored by the community so that the status quo could be maintained. This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of any action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

754 756 Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use it against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, and that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

754 The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *reñu*, her haunt,

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which is described as a lugubrious den, the entrance to which is guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in the *refu*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku* are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches, corporeal and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs, frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only *kalku* are able to enter the *refu* with impunity. If a *machi* or anyone else stumbled upon the *refu*, they would be captured and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted into a familiar, or else pressed into the sisterhood as a corporeal witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually, some person might be associated with these strange happenings, either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or because her activities seem odd to her neighbors. She is watched for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken against her, except for ostracism. She will be shunned and will be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the hands of the community, or if counterwitchcraft is being practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation. This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because they have no claim to adequate land on their natal reservation, also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are concerned, many who live unethically (even for obvious eco-

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nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to make the most of matrilocal residence—an enviable condition in most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:730), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring machi were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

Kalku are believed to gather in ruka, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as chewekon, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

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different regions, variation even occurring from one reservation to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all witches of a region foregather but, again, that "all *kalku* assemble in their *reftu*." Sometimes, therefore, only one large *reftu* is conceived and all witches believed to belong to a non-differentiated group. Other times, many *reftu* are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships.

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate reality in the folklore which has developed around them. *Kalku* derive strength through their association. Since they "never lie," they comprise an entity which has infinite social continuity. They are feared as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they recruit new members. They are the living expression, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their underworld is secret and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of *kalku*, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While *kalku* may be paid to work magic against other professional witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is rationalized by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined in the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of antagonism or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the muddled opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between *machi* and *kalku*, between good and evil, and from this point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

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As distinguished from *kalku*, diviners form actual groups of living people, associated with the forces of good through their *pillan*. They congregate for the purpose of dedicating or rededicating the sacred symbol (the *rewe*) of their profession. One of their membership validates ceremonially before her peers her full-fledged status—and the same one group of *machi* assembles regularly on such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the priesthood, and to test her powers in group

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performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *baile de machi*) or *pillentun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *ñekurewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *füllatun* congregation, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Toltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claims to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what *individuals* and groups are feelings of hostility

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings.

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chilcans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *diwende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *brujo* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curanderos* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chilcans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately.

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from

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sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

On inquiring into the prevalence of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 30 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into several holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult female above the age of forty had visited a machi at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a kalku or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a machi for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Misdemeanors short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the mostly malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*düwen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have witnesses in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other considerate mostly hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be executed. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only officially related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have many land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being resisted or lamented, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of the entire community.

Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being practiced for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible, although one may expect certain animosities to result in the practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder by witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the euphemism goes, and it difficult or impossible to discover, and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Even one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, here tried to subside as one's fortune improves.

The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, that act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But there rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, and, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but between members of its branches. The members of sublineages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *kalku* or an extended family group. The greatest danger to sublineage solidarity results from land shortage, which affects not so much subsistence (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always graved merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and dramatic personae of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby many of the women are lineage sisters who

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are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common sentiment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore, women standing in such relationship are generally married to members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

Serious charges brought against his wife involve a man in entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroilments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since murder is not involved.

Even though there are many accusations of sorcery among in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a kalku. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first reminisce with their own wives, professing to discredit them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumptions) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a machi to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a kalku to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of enmity practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been satisfied—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a vitally active principal. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated considered lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own lineage. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (in two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted compositious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the intercommunal level, fear of witchcraft seems to

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intercorporational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Deaths occasioned with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short lived if nothing occurs to cause them to crystallize.

Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder by witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society, and each group is felt to have its own knife. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between intermarried women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do consanguines. Intercorporational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation rarely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal belongings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people ally in different sites, if this is feasible, or prepare for alliance when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable machi of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive dillatun to exort the general

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased, since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the context of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to control relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *mishe*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Mishe*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *mishe* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *mishe*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during affiliation ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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754 602 571 788 626 182 petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571 A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

771 772 754 182 A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

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121 772 779 114 tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

121 772 114 754 756 From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche, this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

121 772 812 The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly orderless views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work